2: Schaden--158 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.
[786] During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [796] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
775 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvũ, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
775 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
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/123 cont./

782 778 621 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious sentiment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies performed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky. Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi, which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 787 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it, is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers, an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
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[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pajé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[155] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the porái (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

2: Schaden--162 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paĩ Tomás with regard to the record-
ing machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by
him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
776 protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
789 It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
424 substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, de-
tach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away
foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry
house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing
the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of
porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the
domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed
simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of
the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion
and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two
fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganiza-
tion, the explanations given in one village and another concern-
ing the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over
it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater
cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to for-
eigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own
midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for
example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is
going badly nowadays because the white people are not very re-
ligious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have
a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that
to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he